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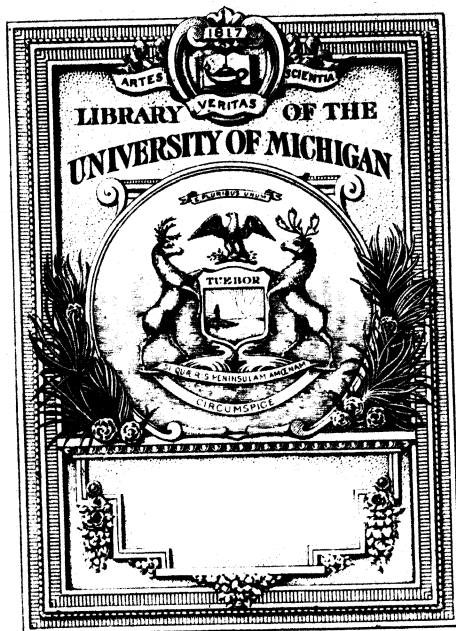
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RESTRICTION ^{UNIV. OF MICH. LIBRARY} OF IMMIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE

THE COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION
AND NATURALIZATION

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

ON

H. R. 558

FRIDAY, JANUARY 21, 1916

STATEMENT OF FRANK MORRISON

Secretary of American Federation of Labor



COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.

SIXTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

JOHN L. BURNETT, Alabama, *Chairman.*

ADOLPH J. SABATH, Illinois.

JOHN A. M. ADAIR, Indiana.

JAMES L. SLAYDEN, Texas.

JOHN E. RAKER, California.

JOHN A. KEY, Ohio.

JOSEPH V. FLYNN, New York.

RILEY J. WILSON, Louisiana.

GEORGE E. HOOD, North Carolina.

EVERIS A. HAYES, California.

ALBERT JOHNSON, Washington.

CALEB POWERS, Kentucky.

JACOB E. MEEKER, Missouri.

ISAAC SIEGEL, New York.

THOMAS D. SCHALL, Minnesota.

P. W. BURNETT, *Clerk.*

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RESTRICTION OF IMMIGRATION.

COMMITTEE ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION,
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Friday, January 21, 1916.

REMARKS OF MR. FRANK MORRISON, SECRETARY OF AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask for five minutes.

Mr. RAKER. I would like to ask unanimous consent that Mr. London be given five minutes.

Mr. LONDON. I would like to say that I am opposed to the illiteracy test.

The CHAIRMAN. I make objection at this time. If the committee thinks it has time after the regular program is over, we can hear Mr. London for five minutes.

Then there will be no objection on my part. But we passed a resolution, and it was done unanimously, to confine ourselves to five hours on a side, and that has been exhausted, except an hour and a half that Mr. Morrison has.

Mr. RAKER. This is the last speaker, Mr. Morrison?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. RAKER. We will be through after this speaker, and I think we would not have hurt ourselves by giving Mr. London five minutes now.

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Morrison will allow me two minutes.

Mr. MORRISON. I will when I get through if I have that much time left.

Mr. LONDON. But the point was made here——

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman will please take his seat; he is out of order.

Mr. MORRISON. Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I regret that I am placed in the position of opposing Representative London being heard at this time. The committee can hear him later.

I have listened with great interest and followed closely the statements made by those that are opposing the restriction of immigration. Particularly did I follow the preceding speaker, Mr. Bourke Cochran, one of the most eloquent orators of the Celtic race. His remarkable word picture of the conditions in Ireland 60 years ago is true. I am the son of an Irish immigrant, and I have heard my father tell of conditions that existed there, and which have been so vividly described by Mr. Cochran. As a representative of the American Federation of Labor I am here to-day to urge this committee to recommend the passage of the Burnett bill containing the literacy test, so that we can avoid reproducing in the United States the very conditions that existed in Ireland 60 years ago.

So that there will be no misunderstanding in regard to whom I represent, and with what authority I speak, I will recite the actions taken by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, commencing with 1902, relative to the restriction of immigration and action taken regarding the educational test.

In 1902 the convention of the American Federation of Labor approved the literacy test.

In 1903 and 1904 no action was taken.

In 1905 the convention indorsed the educational test.

In 1906 it was reaffirmed without opposition.

In 1907 no action was taken, except on Chinese exclusion.

In 1908 the convention indorsed the literacy test by a unanimous vote.

In 1909 the subject matter of immigration received attention, and the literacy test was adopted without objection.

In 1910 the convention reported floods of immigration bills in Congress and expressed the hope that out of this increased attention and coming report of Immigration Commission indiscriminate immigration would be checked.

In 1911 President Gompers's report referred to the recommendations of the Immigration Commission authorized by the Fifty-ninth Congress, featuring the literacy test. This convention instructed for the Gardner or Burnett bill, both carrying the educational test. The convention approved the recommendation unanimously.

In 1912 mention was made in the general report of the literacy test, but no protest was registered by any delegate.

At the Seattle convention, in 1913, resolution No. 28 was amended to meet the views of Delegate Dyche, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers, which one of the speakers claimed that he represented, and stood for them, saying that the garment workers were opposed to this bill.

This resolution was amended as follows:

Resolved, That we favor a literacy test, so that immigrants may be required to be able to read and write the language of the country from whence they come, or in some language or tongue.

On a standing vote there were only 5 dissenting votes, with about 190 for the report as amended by Delegate Dyche. Delegate Walker, of the miners, advocated the adoption of the report.

In 1914 the action of the convention of the American Federation of Labor dealt concretely with the literacy test and urged its adoption. The committee's report was unanimously adopted by the convention.

In 1915, at the San Francisco convention, the convention had the literacy test under consideration. The position of the American Federation of Labor was again sustained in its advocacy of the literacy test. The vote was by a show of hands, and not a single vote was recorded against it.

But one man spoke upon the report, and that was Delegate Schlesinger, and he simply asked if the committee considered the condition of the oppressed people forced to come to this country.

The American Federation of Labor represents 2,000,000 workers. In the various organizations we have represented every nationality. Since 1902 the organized workers of this country, speaking for these workers and for the wage earners of the country, have declared in favor of restriction of immigration, and believe that the adoption

of a literacy test would be one of the best means to reduce immigration or to restrict immigration to an extent that would enable the people that are here to receive a sufficient amount of work to enable them to educate their families and retain the American standard of life.

I concede the right of every man and woman to their own opinions as to what legislation they want enacted. I desire to call your attention to the fact that not a single wageworker or a representative of a trade-union has appeared in opposition to the enactment of the Burnett bill containing the literacy test.

There is no organization that could give Mr. Marshall the right, other than the right which he possesses as an individual, to represent the immigrant.

Mr. SIEGEL. Would you permit me for a moment to interrupt you?

Mr. MORRISON. I would ask the members of the committee to permit me to proceed until I have finished my statement, when I will be glad to answer all questions that Representative Siegel or any other member of the committee may desire to ask.

Mr. SIEGEL. Would you not want to have corrected at this moment a statement of yours that is not correct?

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, let him proceed until he gets through.

Mr. SIEGEL. I was just going to correct the statement that he made. He said "Jewish committee." Mr. Marshall represents the American Jewish committee.

Mr. MORRISON. I said Jewish committee, and took it for granted that Mr. Marshall represented an American Jewish committee.

Mr. SABATH. I just wish to state that Mr. Siegel meant that Mr. Marshall meant that that was the Jewish committee he was representing, from all over the United States. That is what he meant.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, let the speaker get through, as I said before, before interrupting him.

Mr. SIEGEL. I certainly should not have interrupted him then, only I wanted to correct that misstatement at this time.

Mr. MORRISON. Well, I accept the correction. Mr. Marshall said that they wanted the door thrown wide open. He refused to admit whether he would be willing to have any restriction of immigration. Those who are opposed to this committee passing this bill with the literacy test would be opposed to the passing of a bill with a 5 per cent or a 10 per cent restriction clause. Mr. Marshall, in a statement to the committee, took what appears to me to be two untenable positions, first, that notwithstanding that both Houses of Congress passed, by a majority of two-thirds, the Burnett bill—two-thirds vote in the House and over three-fourths vote in the Senate—that it did not represent the wishes of the people of the United States. The second position is that he eulogized the President of the United States for vetoing a bill that had been passed by a two-thirds vote of Congress. In regard to the first proposition, I am sure that the Representatives of the Congress of the United States are in a better position to know their constituents' wishes than Mr. Marshall or anyone else that does not live in their respective districts. In regard to the veto of the Burnett bill by the President after it was adopted by a two-thirds vote of both Houses, I desire to say that it has always been my idea that in a democratic form of government the majority rules; that the veto power comes to us from across the sea; that the veto power is

part of a monarchical form of government. "A king can do no wrong." The veto power was incorporated into the laws of this country with the sole purpose of being exercised by the President of the United States on extraordinary occasions—occasions when the people might be whipped into a white heat of passion over some great question that never before had received their consideration. When such an extraordinary occasion should arise, the President would have the power to veto such a measure, not for the purpose of preventing it being enacted into law, but to send it back to the people to discuss and instruct their Representatives how they should vote upon it. I hold that the veto power is un-American and should never be used to thwart the will of the majority of the people.

Mr. MEEKER. Just a question. Do you mean to say that you look upon the veto power as being the President's power of referendum?

Mr. MORRISON. I will finish the statement, if you please.

Mr. MEEKER. Pardon me.

Mr. MORRISON. Notwithstanding the fact that this bill received a two-thirds vote of Congress, it was vetoed by the President of the United States, and because of that veto and the misrepresentations made by its opponents it failed by 4 votes to pass the House over the President's veto.

One of the misrepresentations was of such a remarkable character that it appears to me it should be mentioned at this time. It was asserted that the Burnett bill if passed would prohibit immigrants from coming to the United States if they could not pass a literacy test which required them to read in the English language. Prominent men of great influence were furnished that information, and I will now read in support of that statement from the February 4, 1915, Congressional Record a letter to Prof. Jenks, who was quoted at considerable length by the chairman in his address to the committee to-day. I will read only the reply that Jeremiah W. Jenks received, as the reply will indicate the extent to which the writer was misinformed in regard to the provisions of the bill:

CARDINAL'S RESIDENCE,
408 NORTH CHARLES STREET,
Baltimore, January 28, 1915.

JEREMIAH W. JENKS, Ph. D., LL. D.,

Director of the Far Eastern Bureau, New York City, N. Y.

MY DEAR SIR: Your most courteous favor of yesterday came to hand this morning, and I thank you for calling my attention to the fact that the Burnett bill, regarding immigration, does not exclude aliens capable of reading their own language or dialect, though incapable of reading ours.

It affords me great pleasure to receive this information, and, of course, it modifies, in consequence, to the same extent, my opposition to the bill.

I also note with much pleasure the other points you submit for my consideration, and I am happy to assure you that, when I can, they shall receive my serious attention.

In the meantime, believe me, very sincerely, yours,

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS,
Archbishop of Baltimore.

The cardinal was quoted in an interview as saying that there were many immigrants coming to this country that could read in their own language, and that it would not be proper to keep them out. I am directing your attention to this letter to impress upon your mind the effort which was put forth by the opponents of this bill to becloud

the issue and to prevent its passage or secure its veto by the President if passed.

I want to cover a few of the statements that were made by the opponents of this bill.

Mr. Hammerling, representing a number of syndicates of foreign papers, endeavored by indirection to connect the secretary of the Federation with the strike situation at Youngstown, and which he withdrew—at the same time it occurred to me that it would be well to call attention to some information which I have in regard to Youngstown.

The immigrants are exploited, and that is why the American Federation of Labor desires a restriction of immigration so as to prevent exploitation. Now, you have heard some of the representatives—able, skillful in the shading of their words, skillful in expression so as to open your mind so that their idea can be received—state that this test does not prevent the criminals from coming in, and that forgers and criminal classes are among those that can read and write. Stealing or forgery or the other crimes that are committed against an individual is not the only crime that can be committed against a people. Whether a man who commits a crime can read or write, or is an illiterate, he is punished by law for his act, but a man, or a great body of men who come into this country and destroy the living conditions of the wageworkers, while it is a crime against those men and it destroys the conditions of labor for years, yet that is not considered a crime and is applauded by Prof. Eliot, who, Mr. Marshall says, can more ably represent the correct views of America on this question than two-thirds of the Members of this Congress. I am sure that the members of this committee and their associates in both branches of Congress are competent to defend their position on this question before their constituents, because Prof. Eliot's defense of everything favorable to big business disqualifies him as an unbiased student of things economic. His declaration "that the strike breaker is a hero" and is the highest type of Americanism, associates him with men who only have the dollar viewpoint, and who are blind to the aspirations of the workers. Prof. Eliot is the one man in America who has dared to exalt the gunman and thug.

I would call the committee's attention to the exposé of the National Liberal Immigration League, by President Gompers, and which was published in the American Federation of Labor Weekly News Letter, issue of January 30, 1915. These documents show that steamship companies, coal and iron mine barons, together with other employers of cheap labor, financed this league. These documents show that the "cosmopolitan" views of Prof. Eliot were accepted by employers of cheap labor, because \$1,584.30 was contributed by them to distribute "Prof. Charles W. Eliot's letter."

These documents also show that the Hamburg-American Steamship Co. was notified by cablegram that the league owed \$7,000, and was liable to be sued and forced into bankruptcy. The French Steamship company was urged to aid in financing a tremendous agitation against immigration legislation. Steamship companies campaigned for the appointment of Charles Nagel as Secretary of Commerce and Labor under President Taft. Mr. Nagel was referred to as one "not likely to favor legislation restricting immigration."

A Hamburg-American Steamship official informed an associate that a number of delegations composed of members of various nationalities were sent to Washington to oppose immigration legislation. He said: "The delegates were not really chosen by bodies of their own nationality." It is stated that the campaign includes visiting the societies of various nationalities, such as Italians, Hebrews, Hungarians, etc., including the unions, for the purpose of advocating liberal immigration.

"We have to send appeals and communications to some 15,000 influential persons, most of them clergymen," said the steamship official.

The National Liberal Immigration League, in another appeal for financial aid, told the trusts it is making possible the influx of alien unskilled labor, and if contributions are not received "we will not be able to keep up our work."

The documents show that the steamship companies contributed \$15,000, and that the coal barons and the steel corporations gave large sums of money to the National Liberal Immigration League to conduct the agitation against immigration legislation.

Since the exposé of the methods of the National Liberal Immigration League, with its publicity of Prof. Eliot's views and its favorable mention of Secretary Nagel, it has reappeared, with new officers and posing as free from any elements that are open to criticisms. Let us investigate its present make-up and activities and discover if it is not composed of men hostile to labor legislation.

Here is a letter under date of January 14, 1916, sent out by the National Liberal Immigration League from 150 Nassau Street, New York. The president of this league is Hon. Joseph G. Cannon, Danville, Ill.; the vice president is Hon. William S. Bennet, New York; the treasurer is Hon. Antonio Zucca, New York; the field representative is Dr. B. A. Sekely, New York; the managing director is N. Behar, New York; the assistant manager is Manoel F. Behar, New York; and the secretaries are James F. McNaboe and Mark J. Katz, of New York. On the educational committee is the name of Hon. W. Bourke Cockran, New York, and, heading the list, like Abou ben Adhem, is the name of the man who declares a strikebreaker is a hero, Dr. Charles W. Eliot. I would like to have this letter incorporated in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

(The letter referred to is as follows:)

JANUARY 14, 1916.

It was expected that with important national and international problems to grapple with, Congress would defer resuming the vexatious discussion about restricting immigration.

But the restrictionists, putting their scheme ahead of the issues recommended by the President for consideration, having introduced their usual bills on the opening day, are trying to rush them through.

The House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization has under consideration the bill introduced by its chairman, John L. Burnett, providing for the literacy test, increased head tax, etc. If the committee reports the bill, the liberals will again face a struggle; the same bill passed the Senate and House with large majorities last session, and came near being enacted over the President's veto.

For years the restrictionists have had the upper hand in this committee. Now it is about an even break. The balance is held by Representative George E. Hood, of Goldsboro, N. C., whose attitude is uncertain.

The committee will hold hearings on the Burnett bill on Thursday and Friday, January 20 and 21.

We respectfully urge you (1) to write or wire Congressman Hood to oppose the Burnett bill, and have your friends in his district do likewise (Cartaret, Craven, Duplin, Jones, Onslow, Pamlico, Pender, Sampson, and Wayne Counties); (2) to attend the hearing, or write to Representative Burnett to postpone reporting his bill until urgent issues are disposed of, or to report the administrative reform features of his bill, but not the restrictive provisions.

NATIONAL LIBERAL IMMIGRATION LEAGUE,
JAMES F. McNABOE, *Secretary*.

Mr. MORRISON. I suppose that great care has been and will be taken by this committee to find out from whom money is collected to carry on this agitation. We do not deny the legal right of employers to use their influence to secure legislation by this Congress that will furnish them cheap labor, but we deny their moral right and we resent and protest against their representatives coming here in opposition to this bill asserting that they represent organized labor, when they do not. I call particular attention to the statement of Mr. Shiplocoff, who claimed that he represented the United Hebrew trades, but acknowledged that he was not instructed by the United Hebrew trades, or by referendum vote of the union, to oppose this bill. He conceded that on several occasions the American Federation of Labor adopted resolutions relative to the restriction of immigration, but that the organizations composing the American Federation of Labor did not take a referendum vote upon the question of the restriction of immigration. The fact of the matter is the American Federation of Labor is a body similar to this Congress. The international unions elect their delegates in conventions, or by referendum vote, to the American Federation of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor, composed of those delegates, carry on their work in the same way as this Congress: that is, delegates introduce resolutions into the convention, and the resolutions are referred to their proper committees for consideration. I am sure the Federation of Labor conventions are more democratic than this Congress, because every resolution that goes to a committee is reported back to the convention for action, and that has not been the case in the past in regard to many of the bills affecting organized labor in this House. Mr. Shiplocoff does not represent organized labor. He did say that he received a wire to represent the United Hebrew Trades Association. The United Hebrew trades is not affiliated with or recognized by the American Federation of Labor. The American Federation of Labor favors this bill and wants it enacted into law.

Edler said that he represented some kind of a circle or association composed of 50,000 people. It is some sort of an insurance organization.

Mr. SIEGEL. He so stated here yesterday.

Mr. MORRISON. He tried to create the impression that it was composed of union-labor men. He did not say that he had been instructed to oppose the bill. I regret that a member of this committee did not ask him if he had been instructed to oppose the bill. Not one representative who has appeared here in opposition to this bill represents either the organized or unorganized wageworkers. The chairman of the Italian Chamber of Commerce of New York opposed this bill. What is a chamber of commerce? It is a representative body composed of business men. Of course, business men who desire cheap labor would authorize their representative to come here to help pre-

vent the passage of any bill that would restrict immigration. He said that he was in touch with labor exchanges through friends of his in several States. I do not know—I did not have an opportunity to ask him—whether he had any connection with the padrone system that exists in this country. A word here would not be amiss directing your attention to the manner in which labor exchanges are handling foreigners. I will read a remarkable document which was received by me on the 17th of this month. The Representatives of Congress should know what the so-called labor agencies are doing at the present time, and particularly in the States of Illinois, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New York. Our general organizer, Mr. Emmet T. Flood, in a communication to me under date of January 15, 1916, says:

In reference to the Youngstown, Ohio, situation, I am inclosing you a copy of the advertisement in the Chicago Daily News for guards at that particular strike-bound field. I am inclosing you a copy of an original document which was signed by all those who left on the train for their particular job. You can see by its contents that it is somewhat bold. I obtained the document from a friend of ours who has been very active in assisting us in getting information in just such occasions.

Attached to his letter is a sheet dated January 10, 1916, which has this statement at the head of it: "We know that we are going to work as guards on a strike job and nobody will be responsible for what can happen. Conditions were explained thus very well."

Then follows a copy of the signatures of the men who signed it.

Mr. SABATH. Will you have the kindness to insert the names of those people who signed it in the record, so that we will get an idea of the class of people who have been engaged in this work in Chicago?

Mr. SIEGEL. Is that dated in Chicago?

Mr. MORRISON. It is not dated. It is a copy of the original document.

Mr. SIEGEL. I mean it does not show the place where this agreement was made or that it is an agreement. It does not show that it is witnessed by some one.

Mr. MORRISON. I do not suppose a strike-breaking agency would take a document of this character before a notary and swear to it.

Mr. SIEGEL. A statement of facts signed by a person is just as good as if taken before a notary.

Mr. MORRISON. I am submitting this document to the committee for their information as to the activities of labor agencies in the various States. I wish to read in connection with it an interesting advertisement and then, with the permission of the chairman, I will ask that the document be printed in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. All right; let it all be put into the record.

Mr. MORRISON. The advertisement reads as follows:

Guards wanted—For strike work; must be 6 feet; transportation furnished. Apply between 2 and 3 p. m. V. Pillarella, 11000 S. Halsted Street.

And underneath that advertisement is this notation signed by the initials of Mr. Emmet T. Flood, general organizer, American Federation of Labor:

I am told a number of these people have a police record. The agent who signed this ad. was fined in police court yesterday for not complying with the State law.

(The paper referred to is as follows:)

JANUARY 10, 1916.

We know that we are going to work as guards on strike job and nobody will be responsible for what can happen. Conditions were explained to us very well.

A. F. Davis, A. Fullerton, Bennie Lang, Arthur Boyd, W. Turner, Frank Trumbley, T. J. Grogan, Charles Riener, Wm. Barbour, Anton Beckman, Frank Stevens, Chas. Turner, J. Pittman, F. N. Fuller, C. L. Foster, I. Knapp, H. Levin, G. W. Woods, R. R. Allison, Wm. Grieves, Charles Case, A. Knapp, H. Kramer, J. J. Newman, James Newton, R. W. Jackson, Fred Harvey, H. Sroff, J. Lauerfeld, Van Moran, Louis Ray, Anthony Campanaro, Frank Maddods, H. G. Gifford, M. Fox, Bert L. Speede, Harry J. Lavin, Chas. Lang, M. B. Bill, William Rudy, A. Thompson, M. Seymour, N. Parker, E. G. Headman, N. P. Boller, W. H. Romero, Paul Hutchinson, F. H. Smith, D. Stowe, W. F. McMillan, H. E. Buchanan, Wm. Meyers, Denny Dalton, H. Mason, Wm. Ward, J. W. Godfrey, Wm. Thomes, Mike Lewis, H. Fuch, W. Dove, Martin Wyatt, Jack Connell, Wm. Collins, Frank W. Rosch, Harvey Ford, F. M. Rogers, J. J. Griffin, Ed Vice, Ed Gunderson, A. C. Bender, Harry Minor, J. Kennedy, Fred Williams, F. J. Fullmer, M. Garrison, James Higgins, H. C. Malwitz, Edward Shafer, James E. Fay, Wm. B. Wood, Charles Weaver, John Hayes, Pat Shirlev, John Monroe, F. H. Perry, H. Wade, Clarence Buckley, Sam Miller, J. Brandon, J. B. Henderson, H. C. Lyman, H. Crawford, Thos. Cameron, E. T. Palmer, P. Lane, A. B. Wing, C. G. Guenther, Charles Davis, James J. Kelley, Harry Swanson, K. W. Smith, F. Frederick.

Guards wanted for strike work; must be 6 feet; transportation furnished. Apply between 2 and 3 p. m.—V. PILLARELLA, 1100 South Halsted Street."

I am told a number of these people have a police record: the agent who signed this ad was fined in police court yesterday for not complying with the State law.—E. T. F.

The CHAIRMAN. That is for guards.

MR. MORRISON. Strike work, in reality, strikebreakers. You see they say "that nobody will be responsible for what can happen."

I want to read to the committee the action of the last convention of the American Federation of Labor in reference to restriction of immigration.

Under this caption in the executive council's report will be found the record of the proceedings of the executive council in dealing with this topic during the year, reporting to us the salient facts in connection with the passage by Congress of the immigration bill containing the literacy test and to the provisions favored by the American Federation of Labor: its subsequent veto by the President of the United States, and the failure of the effort to pass the bill over the veto; also the efforts made by the executive council to ascertain the attitude of newly elected members to the Sixty-fourth Congress in order that the fight for the passage of this bill may be immediately renewed with the opening of the session of the Sixty-fourth Congress.

In this connection your committee would call your attention to the fact that a recent report from the Bureau of Education of the United States sets forth the fact that illiteracy is actually on the increase in the United States. 19 States, reporting to the bureau regrettable increase in the number of citizens who are unable to read or write in any language or tongue. The figures submitted by the Commissioner of Education prove conclusively that this increase in illiteracy is due entirely to the influx of the uneducated, untrained people from foreign countries who are brought here because they are available for those tasks connected with the industrial operations in which F. W. Taylor in his work on "Scientific Shop Management" says that a docile gorilla can be trained under his system to do this work better than a man.

The American labor movement is not devoted in any of its manifestations or activities to any proposition having for its purpose the closing of the gates of opportunity to any man or woman, no matter what race or color, but in justice to the men and women of America who have developed by their industry and through their thrift, who have created from their intelligence and fostered by their genius institutions that properly should conserve the highest and dearest rights of mankind while securing a standard of living that is higher and productive of better results than any other known to the world's history can not complacently view, or quietly submit to the operation of any influence or the existence of any means the continuance of which would inevitably break down and eventually destroy the conditions of social life in America. We demand that those aliens, no matter from whence they come, be such

as are properly qualified to participate in the responsibilities as well as the privileges of our civilization.

So far as the literacy test is concerned the American Federation of Labor is irrevocably pledged to that proposed means for preventing the bringing into this country of unfit immigrants. It is the least of all the qualifications that might reasonably be required. Ability to read is a qualification that should reasonably operate to protect the alien against the misrepresentations and false promises held out to them by the unscrupulous agents of conscienceless exploiters who seek among the submerged peoples of Europe victims for their greed.

This is but one, though perhaps the greatest advantage that comes from insistence on the literacy test and is also the chief explanation for the strenuous opposition to the literacy test.

Your committee believes that for the present the executive council should be instructed to use its best endeavors to the end that the immigration bill containing the so-called literacy test be enacted into law, suggesting that the executive council be further empowered to consider such other measures for the protection of American workers against an unlimited importation of foreign workers as may seem to it best calculated to effectively restrict and control the entrance into this country of aliens from Europe.

On the subject of Asiatic immigration the executive council reports endeavors to secure legislation in conformity with resolution No. 28 of the Seattle convention and resolution No. 137 of the Philadelphia convention, reporting inability to make progress along these lines.

We commend and indorse the activity of the executive council in this matter and recommend that it be authorized to continue its endeavors to secure the legislation asked for by the resolutions referred to.

Mr. RAKER. Those were introduced and printed in the hearings last year.

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir; and it is for the purpose of stopping the immigration into this country of orientals.

There is no more important question at the present time than the restriction of immigration. The Congress of the United States recognizing the dangers to this country because of the steady flow of immigrants to our shores, appointed a commission to carry on an investigation for the purpose of finding out if there was need of restriction. The commission made an investigation covering a period of three years and the report consists of 41 volumes. They reported that immigration to this country should be restricted and suggested to Congress methods by which restriction could be secured to the best advantage. I will read their recommendations:

- (a) The exclusion of those unable to read or write in some language.
- (b) The limitations of the number of each race arriving each year to a certain percentage of the average of that race arriving during a given period of years.
- (c) The exclusion of unskilled laborers unaccompanied by wives or families.
- (d) The limitation of the number of immigrants arriving annually at any port.
- (e) The material increase in the amount of money required to be in the possession of the immigrant at the port of arrival.
- (f) The material increase of the head tax.
- (g) The levy of the head tax so as to make a marked discrimination in favor of men with families.

The commission said that all of these methods would be effective in one way or another in securing restrictions in a greater or less degree. A majority of the commission were favorable to the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration. The commission recommends restriction as demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations.

I quote the recommendations of the Immigration Commission in support of the position taken by the American Federation of Labor that an oversupply of labor existed in this country and that the legislation urged favoring restriction is needed.

Immigration restriction in this country strikes at things fundamental. Rightfully it should be termed "Preparation for preparedness."

We must not flatter ourselves that democracy has survived its greatest test.

While war munitions are yet necessary for the life of a nation, the man behind the gun must be the first consideration. American manhood can not survive against competition with the living standards of eastern Europe and Asia. American institutions are man made. It is unwise to expect them to resist the tidal waves of Slav and oriental onslaught.

Let us prepare for preparedness by restricting immigration. Let us give our country opportunity to digest and assimilate the millions of illiterates now within its confines.

There has been considerable agitation carried on throughout this country prior to and since the last Congress, for the purpose of enacting a percentage plan of restriction which has been set forth at some length by the Rev. Gulick, a missionary who lived many years in Japan. I am not opposed to any plan of restriction which will restrict, but I am opposed to the enactment of a law which will permit the oriental races to come into the United States. I am opposed to it because the flooding of this country, either slowly or rapidly, with orientals means the destruction of the conditions secured by the Caucasian races. In support of my position I desire to call your attention to an article which appeared in *Munsey's Magazine* of August, 1913, written by J. Ingram Bryan, M. A., Ph. D., professor in the Imperial Naval College of Japan and the Meiji University, under the caption "The Rivalry of East and West."

There is crowded into that article a wonderful fund of information; information that every man should have who has faith in the occidental race. Prof. Bryan refers to the "survival of the fittest." I was always of the opinion that the fittest of a race are the men and women living under the best conditions—well-developed muscles and well-trained minds. But that is not the kind of man or woman to whom the professor refers. I will quote one or two sentences for your information. It will indicate why the orientals desire to come to this country and at the same time confirm the claim we make in regard to the danger of the orientals being allowed to come into this country. Prof. Bryan says:

The man of the East has proved his capacity to adapt himself to all circumstances, and therefore his fitness to live. He can underlive and therefore outlive any occidental.

Again in the same article he says:

The occidental can not live save at a cost sufficient for the maintenance of 20 oriental lives.

Mr. SABATH. Is this Prof. Bryan the same gentleman who has written several books on the Aryan race?

Mr. MORRISON. He has written several pamphlets and articles along this line; but I am of the opinion that you are thinking of the Rev. Mr. Gulick, who has written a book favoring the admission of Japanese into this country on a percentage basis and traveled all over the country to create a sentiment favorable to the proposition which he advances.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes; a number of his pamphlets have been sent here.

Mr. SABATH. From Prof. Bryan, I suppose.

Mr. MORRISON. This is the only article I have read written by Prof. Bryan. Rev. Mr. Gulick is the man you have in mind. I have refrained from giving my personal views. I wanted everything I said supported by official documents, but my opinion is that, inasmuch as Mr. Gulick has lived 18 years in Japan and desires that no action should be taken by this country that would create friction or antagonism against the missionaries now in Japan, I believe that that is the foundation of his opposition to this bill.

Mr. JOHNSON. Is it a part of the so-called "Hands around the Pacific" movement to unite all the races?

Mr. MORRISON. Rev. Mr. Gulick's position, as I understand it, is to let them all come in, and by rubbing shoulders with them it will create a brotherly feeling that will enable the two races to live in harmony.

Mr. RAKER. I think he goes so far as to say he is in favor of inter-marriage?

Mr. MORRISON. He did not admit that to me.

Mr. RAKER. He did to me.

Mr. MORRISON. The American people must not permit this country to be overrun with orientals, 20 of whom are capable of living on what is now required for 1 occidental. Yet, we find representatives of great corporations, in their frenzy to secure cheap labor, endeavoring to break down the barriers and understandings that now prevent the oriental races from having free admission to this country. The policy adopted and carried into effect by the representatives of great industrial companies is to continue the supply of immigration, so that there will always be two men available for every job. Several years ago President Gompers and myself, representing the American Federation of Labor, called upon Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, and urged him to take a census of the unemployed; we wanted accurate data, giving the number of unemployed in this country. The census was taken and partly finished, and though we had promised that this data would be printed, it has never been published. It has been asserted that they discovered that unemployment was so general that they did not dare to publish it, and yet during all this time representatives of those desiring cheap labor were opposing legislation that would reduce the number of unemployed in this country. The fact that with these aliens coming to this country and with the coming of each additional hundred thousand distress increased was nothing to them. The only condition they were anxious to see retained was to have two or more people for every available position. They found that men having irregular employment had little, if any, resisting force and would without question work the hours and wages required, no matter what they might be, so that they could purchase the food that would keep them from starvation.

I would call your attention to the market letters that are being sent out by the employment bureau of New York City. I will read a part of a market letter, so you can understand how the public is being deceived as to the real conditions existing in New York City. October 2, 1915, Mr. Walter L. Sears, superintendent of the public

employment bureau of New York City, had the following report to make in his market letter:

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Sears is dead.

Mr. MORRISON. He did not write this letter after he died. He wrote it before. Mr. Sears evidently had not read the Clayton bill, which declares that labor is not a commodity or article of commerce. Nevertheless he had the following to say:

The scarcity of the labor supply for the nation's fundamental industries caused by the falling off in the tide of immigration and the emigration of large numbers of foreign workers for service in European armies, has created a country-wide interest in the matter of alien labor, and deepest concern as to where to obtain a supply of common labor to meet the increasing demands.

You will note that Mr. Sears informs the public that there is a scarcity of the labor supply for the nation's fundamental industries caused by the falling off in the tide of immigration. He says further that common laborers at from 25 to 30 cents per hour in New York City are scarce and that the native-born American will not perform the work even under the most favorable circumstances, and that fact is common knowledge among large employers of labor. He then follows with this statement:

There is a demand for young people in practically all of the industrial lines, which is mainly due to the seasonal activities in the garment, hat, and candy trades in the production of holiday goods, and wages range from \$4 to \$7 per week. Comparatively few boys and girls are willing to accept such employment for this reason: The conditions are not inviting. The bureau could easily place at the present time more than 1,000 factory boys and girls at from \$4 to \$6 per week in Manhattan.

I want to direct your attention to the fact that he states that there is a scarcity of labor to fill certain positions and that the native-born American will not perform this particular work.

In other words, by his market letter he creates the impression that there is a scarcity of labor, when the true fact is that there is sufficient labor and more than sufficient labor to do the work, but that the employers refuse to pay a living wage and because of that fact the American born refuses to take employment that pays less than a living wage and employment that is irregular. I desire to direct your attention to the fact that when you read a statement in a press despatch to-day that there is a shortage of labor in this country it does not mean that there are not enough people to do the work. It means there is a shortage of cheap laborers, men who will work long hours for less than a living wage.

In a statement released for Sunday papers of August 15, 1915, the Bureau of Naturalization of the Department of Labor said in part:

In 1910 there were nearly 14,000,000 foreigners in this country, that of this number 9,000,000 were not citizens, and that the foreign body has been increased nearly 1,000,000.

The CHAIRMAN. You have only about five minutes longer, Mr. Morrison.

Mr. MORRISON. I think I can get through in that time.

Among the approximately 14,000,000 foreign alien residents 1,650,361 are classed as illiterates. These illiterates are the natural prey of the designing and scheming foreigners and natives, as well, at every turn. They compel them to pay tribute, both in cash and blood, for every service both real and imagined, and in the gratification of their desires, however unscrupulous and unnatural. For years this condition has been studied by the Bureau of Naturalization. It is safe to state that although 85,000 foreigners have been refused citizenship because of mental and

moral unfitness, at least as many have been admitted to citizenship, in spite of these deficiencies, during the period of Federal supervision.

Acting Vice Consul Hon. Jan Kool, of the Netherlands, wrote to Hon. I. M. Howell, secretary of state of Washington, regarding conditions in that State attractive of foreign immigration, which was desired for the information of the Netherlands Government.

The query was referred to State Labor Commissioner Olson, who replied as follows:

JULY 21, 1915.

Hon. JAN KOOL,
*Acting Vice Consul, the Netherlands,
American Bank Building, Seattle, Wash.*

SIR: Pursuant to a request made to this department by Hon. I. M. Howell, secretary of state, to furnish you with information regarding the conditions attractive to foreign immigration into this State, I have the honor to submit to you under separate mail, a copy of the ninth biennial report of this bureau, which contains on pages 13 to 24, inclusive, a brief review of the conditions relating to that subject.

Being advised through your letter of inquiry to the secretary of state that this information is desired for use in a quarterly report to be made to your Government and assuming that the information in this report will be disseminated among your people in the Netherlands, permit me to accentuate some of the statements made in the report of the Bureau of Labor, above referred to, that the conditions in this State are not encouraging to the foreign immigrant who, with limited means, desires to come here to establish himself in industrial or agricultural pursuits.

For many years past there has been a surplus of labor in our manufacturing industries, and especially is this true of unskilled labor. This condition has naturally forced wages to a very low level, and it is not uncommon to find great groups of foreigners working on railroad construction and highway work, receiving therefor as little and even less than \$1.60 per day and paying from 90 cents to \$1 per day for board, and these conditions are being intensified because of the further fact that but little steady employment is offered and the workmen are therefor compelled to "driit" the greater portion of the year looking for work.

The result is that unemployment, owing to the constant influx of European immigration, has resolved itself into a stupendous problem, and until our lands are made available to the people at prices that will permit settlement the condition of unemployment is apt to increase from year to year.

The land question lies at the heart of our labor problem, and the possibility of a family of limited means successfully establishing themselves on a small farm has almost vanished, and in consequence our cities are being glutted with industrial workers who are unable to find employment even at the present wage standard, which has been reduced to the lowest level. Little, if any, Government land is now available to new settlers unless it be in regions so remote from the markets that success is rarely accomplished. While it is true that we have millions of acres of highly productive land, much of which is lying in idleness, this land is being held by speculators who are unwilling to sell except at fabulous prices—at prices so high that the added cost of development puts it beyond the reach of the person of moderate means.

The situation, therefore, is by no means inviting to the immigrant who, with small means, is hopeful of bettering his conditions by coming to the United States. In justice to the people of your country, who are liable to be influenced by plausible literature designed to attract them to this country, but which does not acquaint them with obstacles that are invariably encountered by foreign people reaching our shores, I am constrained to offer discouragement to such foreign immigration that can only add to our problem of unemployed.

Very truly, yours,

(Signed) E. W. OLSON,
State Labor Commissioner.

The proposition to prohibit immigration to the United States of able-bodied men and women because they can not read has a sympathetic viewpoint, where individuals are considered; but, notwithstanding such a viewpoint, the American Federation of Labor, which represents the organized workers of the country, and which is the only method or organization or agency which can with any justifica-

tion or reason represent the unorganized workers, has repeatedly declared by resolutions in conventions "that the literacy test is the most practical means of restricting the present immigration of cheap labor whose competition is so ruinous to the workers already here, whether native or foreign."

A great deal has been said and published in an endeavor to create the impression that it is necessary to induce immigration to come to this country for the purpose of securing agricultural workers. There is no question, in my mind, but that such agitation has for its purpose the enticing of immigrants to our country to supply the United States Steel Co., the great manufacturing concerns, coal companies, packing houses, and railroads with men willing to work at a cheaper wage than those who are born here.

The opponents to this test make the argument that common laborers would belong to the class that could not pass the literacy test, and that this country is very much in need of that particular kind of labor.

The great industrial companies of this country have more men to-day than they can employ, but they want two men for every job. They know that unemployed men must work to live and their necessities will force them to accept any wage set by the companies. Hence the workers' wages are literally held below a living wage by the hunger, misery and distress of the unemployed.

The organized wageworkers have declared in favor of restriction of immigration to maintain unlowered the American standard of life. Those who oppose restrictions are representatives of companies and associations composed of employers of labor whose dominant interest is the dollar, and associations that depend for their existence upon contributions from the employing class.

They feel that a reduction of immigration will result in a higher wage for their workers which will disturb the profits and dividends from products manufactured by them, or perhaps they have been informed that if the steamship companies do not receive \$60,000,000 a year for transporting aliens they will raise their freight rates.

This reason will account in a great measure for the opposition of societies of various nationalities composed wholly or partly of business men and the attorneys of business men. Restrictions may interfere with their profits.

With them it is always the dollar—with never a thought for the success or comfort of our millions of wageworkers, or the hundreds of thousands who are continuously without sustaining employment. The steamship companies' interest in immigration is the \$60,000,000 or more a year collected by them for carrying aliens to and from our shores. These companies have no interest in the welfare of our people. Their interest is in the dollars they collect.

We oppose any attempt to lower the standards of American life. We want to raise them, and we are opposed to the exploitation of millions of aliens with its attending evils to swell the profits of the steamship companies, even if it adds to the resources of those companies \$60,000,000 a year, even if it enables the United States Steel Trust to pay dividends and interest on \$400,000,000 of stocks and bonds, which never cost that company one cent.

I wish to call your attention to the fact that industry is protected by a tariff, but labor is not; that the products of labor are protected,

but we have a free flow of labor coming to our shores all the time; that manufacturers have protection against products manufactured by cheap labor in foreign countries, but labor has not protection against the importation of cheap labor.

The opponents of this measure say that if the products of labor are protected, then labor itself must be benefited, because the manufacturer can sell the products at a much higher price than can be obtained in other countries and will be in a position to pay higher wages to his employees. The protected manufacturer does receive a higher price than the products can be sold for in other countries; and the second contention—that they are thus made able to pay higher wages to their employees—is also true, but the fact is they do not pay higher wages. They pay lower wages.

We find that the most highly protected industries, particularly the industries that are now controlled by trusts, such as the steel trust, rubber trust, sugar trust, packing houses, and textile industry, pay to their employees the lowest wage in the country, and some of them less than a living wage for a family. A high tariff has nothing to do with the wages in these industries.

We hold that limitation of immigration to our country will compel social and industrial reform in the countries from which the immigrants flow. The fact that these countries have an outlet for a great number of their people means that there is an outlet from the oppressive conditions in these countries. For that reason those countries delay social and industrial reforms. As a consequence industrial and social misery is perpetuated in those countries, because their citizens are induced to come to this country.

Those of us who have made a careful study of the question, and have watched the census, have been forced to the conclusion that it has become a habit of mind of the people of this country to have small families. The foreigners who come here have large families, but after being here some time they seem to get into the habit of mind which prevails among those born here; that is, the ever-decreasing number in a family. Those who have given this particular subject thought and observation have come to the conclusion that this habit of mind is one of the direct results of the tremendous influx of foreign immigration into this country, which causes competition, increases the difficulties in the way of obtaining a living wage, and forces the workers to the conclusion that it is their one recourse to enable them to sustain American standard of life, and to survive the competition of the million or more aliens that have been coming here each year.

The fact is that immigrants have been exploited to such an extent that workers possessing American ideals can not compete with them.

MR. SABATH. I notice that the time of Mr. Morrison has expired, but, Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that you have kindly extended the time of the men who were here against this measure, and whom I introduced, I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Morrison be allowed to proceed until he has finished.

THE CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, it is so ordered.

MR. MORRISON. I thank you, and I will not impose on the good will of the committee.

On February 2, 1914, Representative Austin read the following letter:

[Edward Horvath Labor Agency, M. Engel, manager. Licensed and bonded. Telephone, Orchard 1039.]

124 EAST THIRD STREET, NEW YORK CITY,
October 4, 1913.

S. E. & H. L. SHEPHERD Co., *Rockport, Me.*

GENTLEMEN: Foreign laborers are now available in this city for less wages than you can secure men for in your State.

Are you in need of any? If so, we can offer for immediate shipment any number of them of any desired nationality.

Trusting to hear from you, we are,

Very truly, yours,

M. ENGEL, *Manager.*

Mr. SABATH. Please state when that letter was written or was sent out. Isn't that the same letter you read here about three years ago?

Mr. MORRISON. I did not think it would be necessary to hunt up another one. That is another one of the agencies there.

Mr. SIEGEL. Not to supply strike breakers.

Mr. MORRISON. I call attention to the fact that I stated that this letter is one that was read on a certain day in the House by Representative Austin. If the committee needs any information about strike-breaking agencies in New York City, I can furnish it.

Mr. SABATH. Of course, you know we have dishonest men among the labor agencies.

Mr. MORRISON. Nothing dishonest about this. The man is dealing in immigrants. He has got them to ship in any number desired and of any nationality.

Mr. SABATH. I don't think he had them. I think it was an advertisement for the purpose of securing a little money from poor unfortunate people.

Mr. MORRISON. Well, let us see.

The following advertisement appeared in a Pittsburgh paper:

Men wanted.—Tinnerns, catchers, and helpers to work in open shops; Syrians, Poles, and Roumanians preferred. Steady employment and good wages to men willing to work. Fare paid and no fees charged.

They want cheap men.

Mr. SABATH. They say, "Steady employment and good wages" there.

Mr. MORRISON. Well, of course, steady employment and good wages. What is good wages for that place—13, 14, 15, and 16 cents an hour.

The wage earners believe in an effective regulation of immigration, because they desire to retain the American standard of living. The standard of wages for both skilled and unskilled labor in this country is the result of many years' effort by organized labor. When an immigrant accepts work at less than the standard wage he not only takes the place of a man working at a higher rate but he assists in forcing downward the prevailing rate of wages in that industry, which result carries with it a corresponding reduction in the physical, moral, and intellectual standard of American life.

The CHAIRMAN. Then you do not agree with the argument of Mr. Cockran that there is no such thing as an oversupply of cheap labor? That was virtually his statement.

Mr. MORRISON. I got that a different way. He said that every man that works; he did not say that every man that does not work. He said that every man that works produces something. But he

did not say a word about the millions of unemployed in this country and the hundreds of thousands in New York City. Under his argument they do not work, and therefore they could not be of any benefit to anybody. He was speaking of the man who had the situation and was working and producing. I would like to ask Mr. Cockran how much benefit to a community is a man who works 11 and 12 hours a day for 12 and 13 cents an hour?

Mr. SABATH. We have not those conditions now, have we?

Mr. MORRISON. Wait a minute.

It is now an undisputed fact that in many industries the immigrants who come here are working for wages so low that the American worker, insisting on American standards, can not compete with them. In fact, they can not support a family on the wages paid them.

In support of my statement that the American worker can not compete with this induced immigration and support a family on the wages paid, I refer you to the investigation of the Bethlehem Steel Works made by a committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, representing over 16,000,000 people, and the investigation made by Commissioner Neill, of the Department of Labor, as to wages and conditions in the steel industry.

The Committee of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, commenting on the wage scale at Bethlehem, said:

This is a wage scale that leaves no option to the common laborers but the boarding-house method of living with many men to the room. When a man has a family with him, they take in lodgers, or often the woman goes to work. It is reported that immigrant parents send their children back to the old country to be reared while the mother goes to work. On such a wage basis American standards are impossible.

That is not a report by a representative of organized labor. That is a report by three men representing the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ.

Again, they say:

None of these common laborers in any of these steel mills are paid a living wage for the average size family.

I want to say, practically in conclusion of my statement, that I listened to the statement made by Miss Abbott, from the city of Chicago, where I lived many years ago, and of which I am now a legal resident. She is working to assist the immigrants and unemployed. Organized labor is endeavoring through the restriction of immigration, through organized efforts, to bring about a condition in this country where there will be no need for noble-minded women like Miss Abbott devoting their lives to assist immigrants to get positions. We want a condition to exist in this country where there will be employment for all, and it will not be necessary to have the helping hand of any individual; because, let me tell you that, until every man, woman, and child can be independent we have not reached the ideal citizenship that we are working for. Why should one man live in affluence and wealth and another work 13 and 14 hours a day? And why should the lawmakers hesitate in restricting immigration to this country to assist in bringing about living conditions? No one has denied the right of this country to restrict immigration. You are here, sent here by your constituents, to make laws, not for the men over in Europe or Asia, but for the citizens of the United States, for the workers here, be they native born or alien. We

come to you representing the wageworkers of this country and ask you to pass this bill and give a measure of relief. Miss Abbott said that the restriction of immigration brought about by the war is already being felt in Chicago.

Miss ABBOTT (interrupting). I said it was being felt in successful strikes in Chicago.

Mr. MORRISON. You said it is being felt in some localities——

Miss ABBOTT (interrupting). There is as much unemployment now as there was last winter, when immigration was equally restricted.

Mr. MORRISON. Well, if we could get the census report on unemployment, we would know how many were unemployed.

Mr. SABATH (interrupting). You mean the report you have requested from Secretary Nagel, who was Secretary under President Taft?

Mr. MORRISON. Yes, sir.

Mr. SIEGEL. You do not claim that will show conditions at the present time?

Mr. MORRISON. It will show that if there were five or six million unemployed at that time and a census was taken to-day, we would be in a position to know the actual number of unemployed in this country.

Mr. SIEGEL. Would not the proper procedure be to take a simultaneous census on one day throughout the entire country? Would not that be the right way to ascertain it?

Mr. MORRISON. I think the ideal way would be to take a census for one year to show how many days each man worked. It would cost money, but you would then have some data to go by. Perhaps if we did that some of the opposition to this legislation would fade away and we would not have a bread line miles long in New York City.

Mr. RAKER. Was not that report taken and put into shape? Was it not printed?

Mr. MORRISON. It was partly finished only; the census taken under Secretary Nagel. He promised to have the census taken, and he kept his promise; but it was not published.

Mr. RAKER. Do you know any reason why it was not published?

Mr. MORRISON. I can guess. I guess it was because the number of the unemployed was so great the Republican Party did not dare to publish it. They left it to the Democrats to publish, and I think the Democrats are afraid to publish it; but it is in the Census Bureau.

Mr. JOHNSON. Would it not be possible that employers of low-paid labor do not want it published?

Mr. MORRISON. Of course, they would not want it published. I would not impugn the motives of the Bureau of the Census, but the fact is that it has not been published. It may be for several reasons, but I think the chief reason is that it was because the number out of employment was so great it would have been disastrous to the people in control for the real conditions in the United States to become known.

Mr. SIEGEL. Wasn't that census taken after 1912?

Mr. MORRISON. I am not sure of the date.

Mr. RAKER. It had to be before if Secretary Nagel did the work.

Mr. SIEGEL. Oh, no. Secretary Nagel worked until 1913.

Mr. MORRISON. I have spoken to the officials about it not being published. I should think, considering conditions in New York, Representative Siegel would be interested in having it published.

Mr. SIEGEL. My idea would be to take a census on one day throughout the country. The average census taken now results in this: You start in one day, say the 1st of the month, and by the time you reach the 30th of the month, a different condition of affairs exists. I think it should be done in one day, but go back and cover a year if necessary.

Mr. MORRISON. I would be satisfied if they took a year.

The literacy test is an expedient which should be adopted now, and time and experience will demonstrate what further legislation will be necessary in the interest and for the safety of the American people, for the improvement of American citizenship and homes, and for the perpetuation of the American Republic.

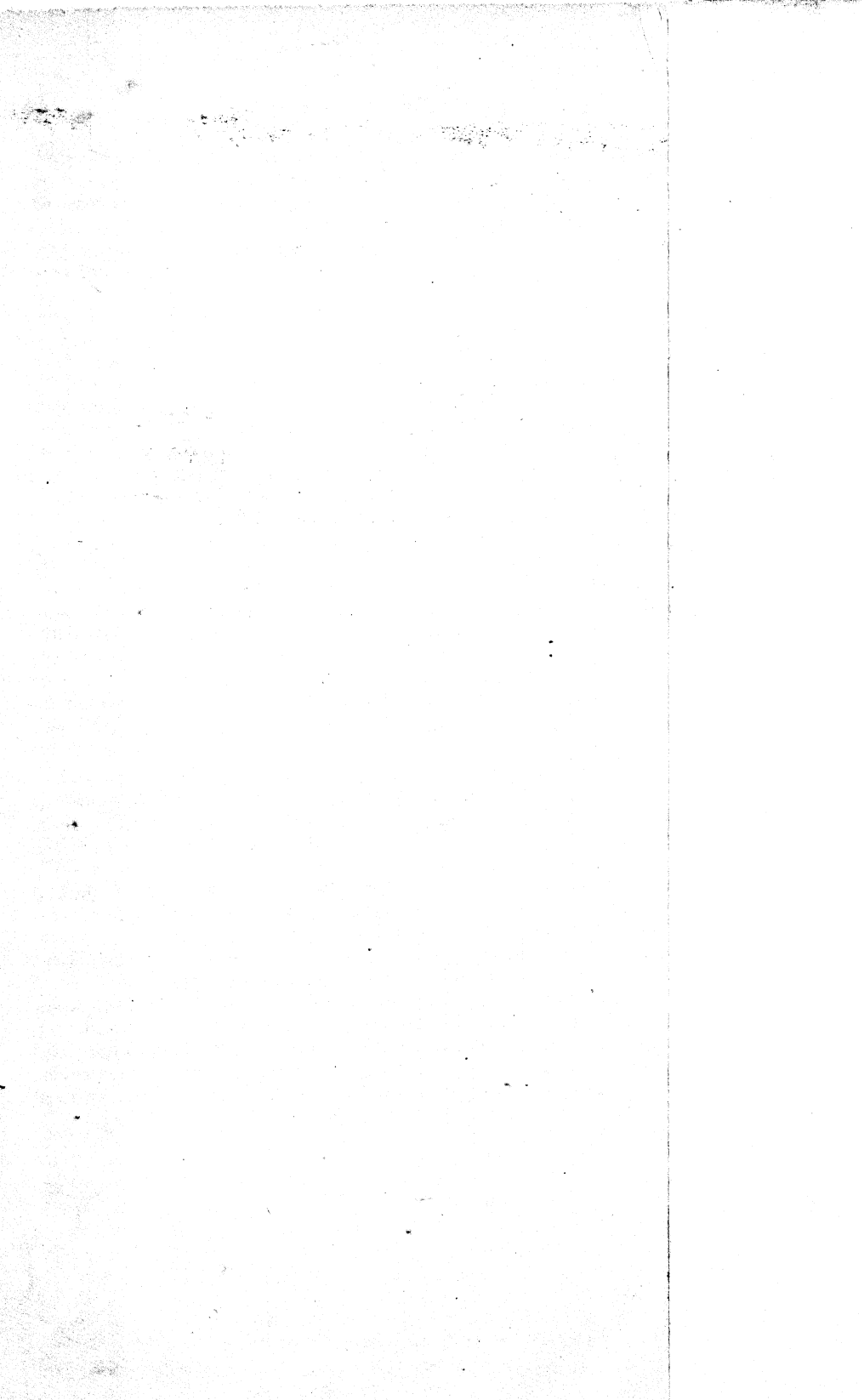
The American Federation of Labor, at its convention held last November in San Francisco, by unanimous action reiterated the decisions of previous conventions urging the speedy enactment into law of the immigration bill containing the literacy test.

No other single proposed addition to our immigration laws has received the indorsement accorded to the literacy test. Seven times since 1894, bills to regulate immigration have passed one or the other Houses of Congress; in each case they have been passed by large votes. The Immigration Commission which studied the question for nearly four years said in the statement of its conclusions:

The commission as a whole recommends restrictions as demanded by economic, moral, and social considerations.

A majority of the commission favor the reading and writing test as the most favorable single method of restricting undesirable immigration. The majority in this case consisted of eight out of nine members of the commission.

(Now, in conclusion, I desire to make this statement, and I do it feeling in my heart, and speaking as man to man, that it is a true statement of the existing conditions: That the men who are chiefly interested in importing cheap labor into this country are the great tariff barons, the great mine barons, who want cheap labor. They know that they can not get cheap labor unless they get ignorant labor, because ignorant labor is the only labor that does not organize, that does not combine, and does not defend itself. When you bar men because of illiteracy, you do not bar them because of themselves—you bar ignorance. You bar ignorance, because ignorance is dangerous to free institutions in a self-governing country.)



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